EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, December 27, 1932.

No. 282

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
JAN 21 1933
Department of State

SUBJECT: Visit of Mr. Matsouka to Istanbul.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
JAN 28 1933
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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THE UNDER SECRETARY
JAN 27 1933
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
JAN 13 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Mr. Matsouka, Chief of the Japanese Delegation at Geneva, arrived here Christmas morning at 9 o'clock by the Simplon Express from Geneva, and left here yesterday evening at 9 o'clock, also by the Simplon Express, which gave him two full day-times in this city. No one here seems to know the cause for his visit. Yesterday afternoon at a wedding reception of the Swedish Chargé d'Affaires, I had an opportunity to speak with several of my colleagues, but none of them could even suggest a reason for this brief Japanese visit. Enclosed please find two reports of an
1/ interview with him, taken from this morning's REPUBLIQUE

(French

JAN 30 1933

FILED

2/ (French edition of DJUMHOURIET) and from the JOURNAL D'ORIENT of today's date also. It is interesting to note the anti-American trend in the latter paper (which is entirely French), not only in reporting what he is supposed to have said about Japan's relations with the United States, but also in the head-lines.

By mere chance I happen to know more about this Japanese visit here than any of my colleagues, but even I do not understand what I know. About 7 o'clock on the evening of last Thursday, December 22nd, when I was talking in the Foreign Office with Tevfik Rüştü Bey, the Minister, the telephone on his desk rang and, excusing himself, he started to talk over it. He began by saying: "Ah, this is the Japanese Chargé d'Affaires. Well, I have called you up because we are very anxious, as soon as Mr. Matsouka arrives in Istanbul Sunday morning (25th) that he will come right up to Ankara so that the Government can offer him some hospitality"..... .... "You don't mean to say that he is leaving on Monday night, and therefore is not able to come up to Ankara! This is most distressing. Please try to over-persuade him so that he can come up to Ankara, if only for one day". There were a few more remarks of this sort, and then the Minister rang off. He seemed as much surprised as I was by the briefness of this Japanese visit to Turkey, and asked me why I supposed he had come at all, if he was only going to be two days in Istanbul. The Turkish Government naturally and properly takes Ankara very seriously, and are not only annoyed when distinguished foreigners do not come up to the Capital, but

also

also are quite surprised at their not wishing to do so.

Respectfully yours,

Charles H. Sherrill

Charles H. Sherrill.

Enclosures:

1. Clipping from
   LA REPUBLIQUE,
   December 27, 1932.

2. Clipping from
   JOURNAL D'ORIENT,
   December 27, 1932.

710
CHS:on

COPY SENT E. I. C. PARIS

Enclosure No. ____ to despatch No. 232

of December ,1932, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

LA REPUBLIQUE (Istanbul)

December 27, 1932.

Déclarations rassurantes de M. Matsuoka chef de la délégation japonaise à Genève

« Nous n'avons plus aucun différend avec la Russie des Soviets »

Nous avons annoncé hier qu'un déjeuner avait été offert par le chargé d'affaires du Japon en l'honneur de M. Matsuoka, chef de la délégation japonaise à la Société des Nations. M. Matsuoka était arrivé avant - hier en notre ville, pour nous faire une courte visite en profitant des vacances de Noel. Notre éminent hôte fit dans l'après - midi une tournée dans la ville. Il visita les mosquées, et l'exposition commerciale japonaise de Galata.

Le diplomate japonais se rendit ensuite en barque sur la Corne - d'Or où il se livra quelques instants au plaisir de la pêche. M. Matsuoka, qui est un très adroit pêcheur, put prendre quatre pélamides. Le soir à 17 heures, M. Matsuoka reçut au Péra-Palace les journalistes turcs et les représentants de la presse étrangère et offrit un thé en leur honneur.

Il fit aux journalistes turcs les déclarations suivantes :

«C'est avec un sentiment de grande satisfaction que, profitant des courtes vacances de Genève, j'ai pu réaliser le désir de faire une visite à votre pays, désir que j'entretenais depuis ma jeunesse. C'est en simple touriste et à titre tout à fait personnel que je fais maintenant ce voyage dans votre pays, dans ce pays que nous autres, Japonais nous connaissons par d'intimes sentiments traditionnels.

«A propos de ce qui se passe à Genève, relativement au conflit sino-japonais, je m'abstiendrai de toute explication, convaincu que toutes les nouvelles concernant le progrès des pourparlers poursuivis au sein de la S. D. N. sont publiées journellement et en détail dans vos journaux.

«Cependant, il serait peut - être intéressant d'ajouter que la race mandchoue est, d'après des recherches historiques, descendant des anciens Tungues orientaux, et surtout qu'en Mandchourie, il y a 173.000 mahométans avec lesquels je suis toujours en rapports très intimes.

«Je regrette infiniment d'être empêché, à cause du temps très restreint dont je dispose actuellement, de me rendre à Ankara où se concentrent les oeuvres de progrès modernes de votre pays. Bien que mon séjour ici n'ait duré que deux jours seulement, je me sens très satisfait et heureux d'avoir pu constater la bonne marche des affaires et les rapides progrès accomplis par votre pays.

«Je quitterai ce soir Stamboul avec le désir de voir se développer davantage les relations amicales entre les deux grandes nations qui se trouvent aux deux extrémités du continent asiatique. Je pars en formulant de sincères souhaits pour la prospérité de la Turquie et le bonheur de la nation turque, et en conservant le souvenir de mon agréable et utile séjour ici.»

Au sujet des relations russo-japonaises, M. Matsuoka dit :

«Aucun malentendu n'existe plus entre les deux pays. Ce sont les Soviets qui sauvèrent les japonais des mains des chinois lors du mouvement de l'armée Su-Puzwein,

(Voir suite en deuxième page)

Enclosure No. ____ to despatch No. 282

of December ,1932, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

LA REPUBLIQUE (Istanbul)

December 27, 1932.

(CLIPPING)

(suite de la première page)

en Mandchourie. Les relations sont devenues très intimes et très sincères, surtout depuis les trois ou quatre derniers mois. Les Soviets apprécient l'intérêt et les liens qui existent entre le Japon et la Mandchourie et ne se mêlent plus de cette question.

«La paix et le calme seront prochainement rétablis en Extrême - Orient, si la S. D. N. également ne s'occupe plus de cette affaire.

«Je dois dire que les Soviets ont fait tout ce qui dépendait d'eux en faveur des Japonais. En Mandchourie, ils ont évité aux ressortissants de notre pays les répressions chinoises.»

Répondant à une question au sujet des rapports entre le Japon et l'Amérique, M. Matsuoka répondit :

«Ces rapports sont amicaux. Cependant, l'atmosphère paraît obscure — et cela provient de certain malentendu entre ces deux pays. Il n'est pas question de guerre. Nous tâcherons, avec la collaboration de ceux qui désirent ménager les intérêts des deux nations, de dissiper ce malentendu, qui s'est fait jour après la dernière offensive de Changhaï. A ce moment, certaines rumeurs furent lancées par les cercles chinois, qui ont modifié complètement l'opinion publique américaine.

«Mais cette opinion s'est de nouveau modifiée en notre faveur lorsque les Japonais ont évacué les frontières chinoises ; les Américains ont alors constaté que l'offensive japonaise n'avait pour but que de protéger les ressortissants japonais en Chine. Il n'y a donc plus maintenant de raisons de voir se produire une guerre entre les deux pays.

«Les Américains disent : «Chacun ne doit s'intéresser qu'à ses propres affaires». Si ce dicton est appliqué, il ne peut exister aucun malentendu entre personnes.»

M. Matsuoka terminal en ces termes :

«La nation japonaise éprouve une sincère amitié envers la nation turque, qui lui est très proche. Je vous en donne l'assurance.»

La délégation japonaise et ses deux conseillers ont repris hier soir le Simplon-Express pour se rendre à Rome. Ils ont été conduits à la gare par les fonctionnaires de l'ambassade du Japon.

La délégation doit rester quelques jours à Rome, d'où elle repartira en Espagne pour se rendre ensuite en Angleterre. Elle sera de retour à Genève vers le mi-janvier.

Enclosure No. to despatch No. 282

of December ,1932, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT (Istanbul)

December 27,1932.

Une interview de M.Matsuoka

L'EMINENT DIPLOMATE JAPONAIS NOUS PARLE EN TERMES RAVIS DE LA TURQUIE

En Amérique, nous confie-t-il, l'atmosphère est très lourde contre le Japon

M. Matsuoka, premier délégué du Japon à la Société des Nations qui, comme nous l'avons déjà dit, était arrivé à Stamboul, profitant des vacances de Noel de la S. D. N., est reparti hier soir par le Simplon Express, en route pour Rome. M. Matsuoka, a bien voulu nous recevoir au Péra Palace avant son départ et nous faire les intéressantes déclarations que voici::

« C'est avec un sentiment de grande satisfaction, dit il, que, profitant des courtes vacances à Genève, j'ai pu, cette fois réaliser mon désir de faire une visite dans votre pays, désir que j'entretenais depuis ma jeunesse. C'est comme un simple touriste et à titre tout à fait personnel que j'ai fait maintenant ce voyage. Japonais et Turcs, nous nous connaissons par d'intimes sentiments traditionnels.

Après Rome, je passerai à Madrid et à Londres avant d'aller reprendre à Genève le cours de nos affaires qui recommencent le 15 janvier prochain. C'est par manque d etemps que je n'ai pu visiter Ankara et rendre visite à vos dirigeants si éclairés: le Gazi et Ismet pacha dont la renommée, après avoir traversé le monde est venue jusqu'à nous, au Japon. Je le regrette infiniment, car à Ankara se concentrent les manifestations des progrès de votre pays. Malgré que mon séjour ici n'ait été que de deux jours seulement, je me sens très satisfait et heureux d'avoir pu constater la bonne marche de vos affaires et les rapides progrès accomplis dans votre pays.

« Un proverbe japonais dit : « Un regard, vaut mieux que cent oreilles.» Un simple regard m'a suffi pour me rendre compte que tout ce que j'avais entendu dire sur la Turquie est encore au dessous de la réalité.

« Je quitterai ce soir même Stamboul et mon seul désir serait de voir se développer davantage les relations amicales entre les deux grandes nations qui se trouvent aux deux extrémités du Continent asiatique; je forme des souhaits sincères pour la prospérité de la Turquie et le bonheur de la nation Turque. Pour ce qui est de moi, j'emporte le souvenir de mon agréable et utile séjour ici. »

PPING

que, administrative etc., dans le Mand dchoukuo.

« Je vous dirai plus: lors de la fuite du général rebelle chinois Souping Wen en territoire soviétique, qui amenait avec lui les sujets japonais réfugiés dans les territoires septentrionaux de la Mandchourie, les Soviets réussirent à délivrer ces Japonais des mains de ce général, à le arracher ainsi à une mort certaine et à nous les remettre ensuite.

« Il serait peut être intéressant d'ajouter que les Mandchous sont, d'après des recherches historiques, descendants des anciens Tungues orientaux, et surtout qu' en Mandchourie il y a 178.000 mahométants avec lesquels je suis toujours en rapports très intimes.

— Et les relations du Japon avec l'Amérique ?

— Elles sont très bonnes. Par contre cependant l'atmosphère en Amérique, contre le Japon, est très lourde. Je ne pourrai cependant m'empêcher d'ajouter qu'au Japon, également, l'atmosphère est très chargée vis à vis de l'Amérique. Malgré cela, je suis convaincu que personne, aux Etats Unis ne voudrait partir en guerre contre nous. Il est vrai, aussi — et nous avons dans ce domaine plusieurs exemples sous les yeux — que très souvent la guerre commence à l'improviste et sans que l'on s'y attende.

« C'est pour cette raison que tous ceux qui ont à cœur les bonnes relations entre les deux pays, doivent diriger tous leurs efforts et faire tout leur possible pour dissiper, à tout prix, cette atmosphère dangereuse.

« Pour ma part je me range volotiers du côté de ces apôtres de la paix. Après tout nous n'avons avec l'Amérique au simple malentendu, malentendu qui peut cune cause sérieuse de conflit. C'est un être très facilement aplani lorsque les deux parties se seront expliquées.

« Un proverbe américain dit : «Occupez vous de vos propres affaires.» Si les Américains, mettant à profit leur proverbe, conforment leur attitude à leur maxime, aucun malentendu n'existera entre eux et nous. Mais malheureusement, il y a de par le monde pas mal de gens qui s'occupent plus des affaires des autres que des leurs.

« N'empêche que je suis pertinemment convaincu que nous arriverons, tôt ou tard, à nous comprendre et à nous entendre.

— Mais d'où provient le malentendu?

— Nous avons toujours vécu en excellents rapports avec nos voisins d'Amérique. Mais notre conflit avec la Chine et nos opérations militaires envers ce pays avaient créé chez les Yankees une atmosphère d'hésitation, d'incertitude, quant à notre intention vis à vis de l'Amérique.

« Au printemps dernier, à la suite de notre attaque contre Changhai, des mes[illegible]agers chinois avaient fait circuler, en A[illegible]érique, des nouvelles mensongères et [illegible]lveillantes contre nous. Ces nouvelles [illegible] fini naturellement par chauffer l'at[illegible]phère. On avait fait courir le bruit que [illegible]apon, en attaquant la Chine, avait

qui est de moi, j'emporte le souvenir de mon agréable et utile séjour ici. »

MM. Yosuke Matsuoka, délégué du Japon et Wellington Koo, délégué de la Chine et son contradicteur à la S. D. N.

— Voulez vous nous parler sur la question de Mandchoukuo ?

— A propos de ce qui se passe à Genève relativement au conflit sino japonais permettez moi de m'abstenir de toute explication, convaincu que toutes les nouvelles concernant le progrès des pourparlers au sein de la S. D. N. sont publiées journellement et en détail dans vos journaux.

— Et les relations du Japon avec les Soviets à propos de cette même question?

— Les relations entre les Soviets et nous, s'améliorent de plus en plus. Depuis ce sdeux ou trois derniers mois surtout les Soviets, ayant compris l'inanité de leurs craintes à propos de la Mandchourie ont sensiblement modifié leur attitude à notre égard. Nous en avons fait d'ailleurs de même.

— Peut on dire alors qu'actuellement il n'y a plus de conflit entre vos deux pays à propos du Mandchoukuo ?

— Non, il n'y a pas de conflit. Les Soviets ayant compris notre situation dans ce territoire, ne visent plus à s'immiscer dans nos affaires à l'intérieur du Mandchoukuo.

« Prenant exemple sur les Soviets, j'ai invité dernièrement la S. D. N. à prendre quelques décisions au sujet de la Mandchourie.Si la S.D.N'imitant les Soviets se tient à l'écart et ne s'occupe pas des affaires intérieures du Mandchoukuo, la situation changera du tout au tout et deviendra on ne peut plus satisfaisante.

« Toujours à propos de nos relations avec les Soviets, je vous signalerai que l'échange de consuls entre nos deux pays est un indice évident de nos bons rapports réciproques. Actuellement, les Soviets font de leur mieux pour ne rien faire qui puisse entraver ni empêcher la développement de notre activité économi

nos opérations militaires envers ce pays avaient créé chez les Yankees une atmosphère d'hésitation, d'incertitude, quant à notre intention vis à vis de l'Amérique.

« Au printemps dernier, à la suite de notre attaque contre Changhai, des messagers chinois avaient fait circuler, en Amérique, des nouvelles mensongères et malveillantes contre nous. Ces nouvelles ont fini naturellement par chauffer l'atmosphère. On avait fait courir le bruit que le Japon, en attaquant la Chine, avait comme objectif de s'annexer ces territoires ainsi qu'une autre partie de la Chine. Mais notre attitude a vite fait de démentir ces mensongs. » — A. DURAZZO.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

February 16, 1933.

EHD:
[redacted]:
SKH:

Ankara's confidential despatch No. 324 of January 19, 1933, states that the Japanese Ambassador's brief stay of 11 days, after absence from his post since last February, was intimated by the Foreign Minister as due to the Japanese Ambassador's desire to prevent Turkey from imposing upon Japan necessity of purchasing as much from Turkey as Turkey purchases from Japan. The remainder of the despatch, beginning with the first paragraph on page 2, deals with Turko-Japanese relations in connection with the League and might be glanced over.

[redacted]:KC

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ankara, January 19, 1933.

No. 324

SUBJECT: Turkish attitude toward Japan.

AM RECD
DEPT. OF STATE DIV. COM. & REC.
FEB 8 33

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field
In U. S. A

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
FEB 14 1933
Department of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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FEB 9 1933
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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FEB 23 1933

CONFIDENTIAL.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

767.94/9

Referring to my No. 282 of December 27, 1932, I, today, at the Foreign Office, spoke with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tevfik Rüştü Bey, about the recent and brief visits to Turkey of the Japanese Delegate to Geneva, Mr. Matsuoka, and the Japanese Ambassador, Mr. Yoshida. The Minister seemed to know nothing about why the former came here for two days in Istanbul and declined the Turkish Government's invitation to visit Ankara. He intimated that the Japanese Ambassador's brief stay of eleven days, after an absence from this post since last February, was due to his desire to prevent Turkey imposing upon Japan the necessity of purchasing

as much

as much from Turkey as she sells here - which said imposition has just been imposed upon Brazil (see my No. 329 of today's date). The Minister said that Japan would have to accept some such compensating agreement, although, as in the case of Brazil, Japan would receive proper consideration during the first year marking the transition between the old system and the new one. That first year will begin next week, February 1.

Then I led the conversation on to what might be Turkey's position as a member of the Committee of Nineteen upon the Lytton report at Geneva. The Minister told me that he had suggested to the Japanese Ambassador last week that Turkey might propose in that Committee the appointment of a sub-Committee of Five, upon which an American and a Soviet might serve, but that the Ambassador refused that suggestion. The Minister learned that a day or two later the Ambassador changed and became favorable to that suggestion, but that two days ago England and France were reported to have united against Japan, hoping thereby to please the United States, but that he (the Minister) thought that turn was solely to get some temporary favor with us and would not continue. He said he had this morning finally decided to take no initiative on the Committee of Nineteen, and had already telegraphed that instruction to Turkey's member of the Committee, who is their Minister at Berne.

He thanked me for having caused him to refuse the Soviet Ambassador's suggestion that Turkey recognize Manchoukuo (see my No. 35 of June 14, 1932), because if he had yielded to that request, Turkey would have been

893.01 Manchuria/304

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left out on a branch at the risk of its being sawed off behind her. He leaves for Geneva, January 23, with the intention of spending only ten days there, because he wishes to be back in Smyrna (Izmir) - his home town - when the Prime Minister, Ismet Pasha, visits there late in February.

The Minister seems to think that it is of small importance whether Japan leaves the League of Nations or not. I had already guessed that this was the position of the Government, because last week an article to that effect appeared in the L'AKCHAM by its Editor, Nedjmeddin Sadik Bey, who is also a Deputy and Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Grand National Assembly. I closed this part of the conversation by remarking that nothing was further from my mind than a desire to influence him in this Japanese question and, besides, if I had so desired, I would not feel so sure of the result as if I were talking to his colleague, the Minister of National Economy. He asked what I meant by that distinction between two Ministers. I replied that Turkey's balance of trade was so favorable with the United States and so unfavorable with Japan that I was sure that the Minister of National Economy would feel he would have every reason for being pro-American! The Minister caught my point and smiled appreciatively.

Respectfully yours,

Charles H. Sherrill

CHARLES H. SHERRILL.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

February 25, 1933.

EHD:
MVH:

Istanbul's despatch No. 351 of February 4, 1933, reports that a Turkish paper and its French edition published on the front page a severe attack upon Japan. This is the first decided pronouncement by any Turkish newspaper pro or contra, although opinion of both press and public has been somewhat doubtful of Japanese policy in Manchuria.

LET:CLS

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, February 4, 1933.

No. 351

SUBJECT: Turkish newspaper attack on Japan.

AM. RECD
DEPT. OF STATE DIV. COM. & REC.
FEB 21 33
FOR DISTRIBUTION
Division of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS FEB 25 1933 Department of State
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE FEB 23 1933 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAR 6 1933
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CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Yunus Nadi Bey, Deputy and owner of the daily morning DJUMHOURIET and its French edition LA REPUBLIQUE, has today published on his front page a severe attack upon Japan under the title of "Une Conférence des Nations Asiatiques" (copy
1/,2/ and translation enclosed). This is the first decided pronouncement by any Turkish newspaper for or against the Japanese, although the general tone of opinion here of both press and public has been somewhat doubtful of Japanese policy in Manchuria. Although Yunus Nadi has seemed to me increasingly critical of the Japanese during the last conversations we had together (the last one here at luncheon)

I did

I did not think that he would so soon come out so strongly. There have been rumors afloat that three Embassies here have had at their disposal funds which could be used for influencing the press, and the Japanese is one of them. One wonders if this editorial be not something of a notice to the Japanese that they are not sufficiently generous in recognizing the value of Yunus Nadi's two newspapers. It is perhaps doubtful, after having gone so far as this article, and over his own signature, that it would be possible now to reverse his anti-Japanese stand. Be that as it may, this article is reported as showing the latest trend of public opinion here.

Respectfully yours,

Charles H. Sherrill

Charles H. Sherrill.

Enclosures:

1. Clipping from LA REPUBLIQUE, Istanbul, February 4, 1933.
2. Translation of enclosure No.1.

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4 Carbon Copies
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Later, February 7th.

Today at luncheon Yunus Nadi told me with a pleased grin that yesterday the Japanese secretary had called to talk over his anti-Japanese article with him. Perhaps his smile indicated that the Japanese have become generous.

COPY SENT E. I. C. PARIS

Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 351
of February 4, 1933, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

LA REPUBLIQUE, Istanbul,
February 4, 1933.

Une conférence des Nations Asiatiques

C'est le Japon qui a eu l'idée de réunir cette conférence à Tokio.

Vous concevrez aisément que ceux qui veulent organiser cette conférence ne poursuivent d'autre but que celui d'endormir, pour commencer les Nations asiatiques, puis par l'entremise de ces dernières, le reste du monde, à l'aide d'un nouveau stupéfiant qu'ils doivent posséder.

Lorsqu'on songe que cette conférence, qui a pour but de réunir les jeunesses des peuples de l'Asie, soi-disant pour discuter en commun les intérêts des Asiatiques, lorsqu'on pense, disons-nous, que cette réunion est organisée par l'association Manchoukuo-japonaise, on est, par le fait même, clairement pénétré des desseins qu'elle poursuit : ces desseins ne consistent en rien d'autre qu'à consolider l'envahissement japonais en entretenant l'inadvertance des peuples de l'Asie.

En élevant d'ores et déjà nos protestations contre ces menées indignes et blessantes pour l'amour-propre, nous n'aurons accompli que notre devoir d' humains. Mais il est un devoir autrement plus important qui incombe aux nations asiatiques : celui de s'opposer aux agissements des Japonais qui emploient la force comme un instrument de conquête et d'agression. Si, par incapacité, la Société des Nations est bien empêchée de remettre le Japon sur le droit chemin, il est parfaitement possible que les peuples d'Asie se voient à la fin obligés de prendre des mesures dans l'intention de porter secours à la Chine, dont les droits sont méconnus et que ces mesures mettent fin à la politique de conquête du Japon. Si cette puissance s'appuyant sur la supériorité apparente de ses forces actuelles, insiste à vouloir continuer sa politique agressive, il sera du devoir des Asiatiques de la mettre à la raison et cela n'a, du reste, rien d'impossible. Dans le cas où les moyens mis en avait seraient impuissants à empêcher une guerre et, lors même que le geste du Japon, engendrerait un conflit inévitable, celui-ci doit savoir d'ores et déjà qu'il trouvera devant lui non seulement la Chine, mais tous les pays de l'Asie. Nous pouvons, de notre côté, assurer qu'une telle guerre ne durera pas éternellement, mais qu'elle se terminera bien vite en amenant peut-être la ruine du Japon.

L'Empire du Soleil-Levant ne l'ignore pas du reste. C'est ainsi d'ailleurs que sa tentative de réunir les peuples de l'Asie n'est qu'une vulgaire manoeuvre tentée pour gagner ces nations à sa cause, en endormant leur méfiance. Et il paraît même que la conférence est, comme nous l'avons dit, organisée par l'association Manchoukuo-japonaise, formée par les jeunes ! Le nom seul de cette association suffit à démontrer clairement qu'en assurant la réunion d'une telle conférence, le Japon a pour but de faire approuver, par toute l'Asie, son occupation de la Mandchourie. Or, le devoir des peuples de cette partie du monde est de ne pas reconnaître, et de faire cesser une telle occupation. Il en sera d'ailleurs ainsi. Qui vivra verra.

Les Nations du continent asiatique ont un grand besoin : celui de poursuivre sans cesse la réalisation de leur indépendance et de leur développement nationaux. Les pays de l'Asie peuvent tout au plus se plaindre d'avoir été condamnés à vivre à l'état de colonies. Actuellement le Japon poursuit, dans son esprit, une politique impérialiste qui vise à placer sous son autorité les pays de l'Asie, à en faire ses colonies. L'hostilité de l'Asie, dans cette affaire, n'est nullement dirigée contre telle ou telle nation, mais peut-être bien contre la coutume qui veut qu'on la tienne en esclavage. Maintenant, c' est le Japon qui veut faire revivre cette mentalité. Il a, dans ce but, déployé la bannière de la colonisation.

Telle est la signification très nette de l'envahissement de la Mandchourie par le Japon. On peut même dire que profitant du désarroi où se trouve le monde, le Japon rêve même d'étendre encore son occupation. Imaginez-vous que le Japon pousse même l'audace jusqu' à espérer faire approuver son geste par les autres Nations peuplant l'Asie. Le Japon est, avant tout, obligé de répondre de l'acte dont il s'est rendu coupable envers la Chine, qui est aussi une nation asiatique, pour autant que nous sachions ; le Japon doit en répondre aux peuples de ce continent et, tôt ou tard, il sera invité et forcé de rendre des comptes pour ses agissements.

En se fiant en l'occurence à ses forces apparentes, le Japon aura commis la plus grave des erreurs. On n'a pas encore inventé, à notre connaissance du moins, quelque arme assez puissante pour en imposer à l'opinion des peuplec, et il y a fort à parier qu'on ne découvrira pas encore de longtemps une arme pareille. Le Japon pourra se voir dans toute sa faiblesse, dans toute sa nudité, le jour où toute l'Asie se dressera devant lui, comme la chaîne de l'Himalaya. Non seulement le Japon, mais le monde entier même ne pourrait ébranler la puissance formidable que recèle ce continent. Que penser dès lors, lorsqu'on sait pertinemment que tous les peuples du globe sont avec les Asiatiques pour s'élever contre les grossières agressions et les entreprises iniques du Japon ?

En occupant la Mandchourie, le Japon a encore ajouté de nouvelles souffrances à celles qui pesaient déjà sur l'Asie. Il est fort probable que ce geste, qui élargit encore une plaie béante, incitera l'Asie à faire preuve d'une plus grande vigilance. Par ailleurs, si le Japon ne s'avise pas d'abandonner lui-même, pendant qu'il en est temps, le mauvais chemin où il s'est fourvoyé, il est possible que d'autres décident de le ramener dans ce droit chemin, ce qui pourra lui coûter très cher. C'est là, tout au plus, le seul problème à l'examen duquel les peuples asiatiques peuvent être conviés. D'ailleurs, ces Nations se sont elles-mêmes invitées à étudier ce problème : elles se livrent actuellement, à son examen, en leur for intérieur.

YUNUS NADI

Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 351
of February 4, 1933, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

TRANSLATION:

LA REPUBLIQUE, Istanbul,
February 4, 1933.

A CONFERENCE OF THE ASIATIC NATIONS.

It was Japan who had the idea of convening this conference.

One can easily understand that those desirous of organizing this conference have but one end in view - namely, to lull to sleep the Asiatic nations and through them the rest of the world by means of some new narcotic which they must possess.

When one considers that this conference whose aim is to bring together the youth of Asia for the purpose of discussing in common the interests of the people of Asia, when one considers, we say, that this meeting is organized by the Manchuko-Japanese society, one immediately realizes, thanks to the latter fact, the nature of the goal which it pursues: its aims are nothing else than the consolidation of the Japanese invasion by continuing to mislead the peoples of Asia.

In immediately raising our voice in protest against such unworthy dealings injurious to self-respect we are only accomplishing our duty as human beings. But there is another far more important duty which rests upon the Asiatic nations: namely that of opposing the actions of the Japanese who employ force as an instrument of conquest and aggression. If, by incapacity, the League of Nations is prevented from putting Japan back on the right path, it is quite possible that the peoples of Asia will find themselves compelled in the end to take measures with a view to assisting China, whose rights are being disregarded, and thus put an end to Japan's policy of conquest. Should the latter power, counting on the apparent superiority of its present forces, persist in its aggressive policy, it will be the duty of the people of Asia to bring it to reason, which, after all, is not impossible. In case, however, the means resorted to should prove insufficient to prevent war and Japan's attitude should make a conflict inevitable, it is imperative that the latter be made to realize at once that it would have to face not only China alone but also all the other countries of Asia. We, for our part, can be sure that such a war will not last indefinitely but that it will end very quickly and perhaps bring about the ruin of Japan.

Besides,

Besides, the Empire of the Rising Sun is fully aware of this. Thus its endeavor to bring about a meeting of the Asiatic peoples is nothing but a vulgar move to rally them to its cause by lulling to sleep their distrust. It would appear even that the conference, as we have already pointed out above, is being organized by the Manchuko-Japanese society formed by the younger set. The name of this society is in itself sufficient proof that the goal pursued by Japan in bringing about the meeting of such a conference is for the purpose of having its occupation of Manchuko approved by all of Asia. Now, it is the duty of the people of that part of the world not only to not recognize but to bring about a cessation of that occupation. There is no doubt that such will be the case. Those who live shall see.

The nations of the continent of Asia have one great need: to strive constantly for the realization of their independence and national development. The Asiatic countries may at best complain of having been reduced to the state of colonies. Japan at present has in mind the pursuance of an imperialistic policy aiming at bringing under its authority all of the countries of Asia and making colonies of them. Asia's hostile attitude in this particular case is not at all directed against one or the other nation, but it may eventually turn against the established custom which wishes to hold it in slavery. At present it is Japan who wishes to bring about a revival of this mentality. And, in order to bring about the desired end, it has raised the banner of colonization.

This is the real meaning of Japan's invasion of Manchuria. One may even say that, taking advantage of the confusion reigning all over the world, Japan is contemplating extending its occupation still further. And just imagine, Japan pushes her audacity to the point of hoping her dealings will be approved by all the nations which people Asia. Japan, in the first place, has to answer for the act which it has been guilty of committing against China, which is also an Asiatic nation, according to our knowledge. Japan must give an answer to the other nations of that continent and sooner or later it will be invited and forced to render an account for its acts.

In relying in this particular instance on the apparent superiority of its forces Japan will commit a grave error. As far as we know, no weapon powerful enough to overcome public opinion has as yet been invented, and we may likewise say that it will be a long time before such a weapon is invented. Japan will be able to see itself in all its weakness and in all its nakedness the day that Asia rises against it like a chain of the Himalayas. Neither Japan nor the whole world can shake the formidable power concealed in that continent. What can one say therefore if one realizes

that

that all the people of the world side with the Asiatic nations against Japan's coarse aggression and the iniquity of its enterprises?

In occupying Manchuria, Japan has added new sufferings to those which already weighed over Asia. It is quite probable that this move which enlarges an open wound will incite Asia toward increasing its vigilance. Should Japan, however, fail to leave of its own accord the evil path into which it has blundered, it is quite possible that others will have to take the initiative of bringing it back onto the right path - and it might have to pay dearly for it. This, at the most, is the only problem for the examination of which the Asiatic peoples may be convened. Moreover, these nations have invited themselves to a study of this problem. They have at present given themselves up to its examination in their innermost selves.

(signed) YUNUS NADI.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

March 23, 1933.

MM:

Istanbul's despatch No. 369 of February 18, 1933, encloses a copy in translation of an anti-Japanese article published by the owner and editor of the REPUBLIQUE and the DJUMHOURIET. The writer foresees a nationalist China developing as a result of Japanese aggression and fears international conflict. The only way to solve the crisis is not to resort to war.

LBS:EJL

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Istanbul, February 18, 1933.

No. 369

SUBJECT: Turkish newspaper attack on Japan.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
MAR 13 1933
DIVISION OF
WESTERN EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

767.94/12

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FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field
In U. S. A

Division of
FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
MAR 14 1933
Department of State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
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NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

767.94/11

1/ 2/ Referring to my No. 351 of February 4, I enclose herewith clipping and translation of another anti-Japanese article also published on the front page of the REPUBLIQUE by Yunus Nadi, owner and editor of this paper and its Turkish edition of the DJUMHOURIET. During our recent conversations he has twice asked me if I believed that our Government would take any active anti-Japanese steps in case they withdrew from the League of Nations. Each time I replied that since we are not members of that League I could not see what effect their withdrawal could

MAR 27 1933
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could have upon our policy, but that I had neither instructions nor opinion upon what our policy would be in that eventuality.

Respectfully yours,

Charles H. Sherrill

CHARLES H. SHERRILL.

Enclosures:

1. Clipping from LA REPUBLIQUE, Feb. 18, 1933.

2. Translation of Enclosure 1.

COPY SENT E. I. C. PARIS

710/891
CHS:FM

Enclosure No. - to Despatch No. 369

of February 1933, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

CLIPPING

THE CHINESE PROBLEM AND ITS WORLD REPERCUSSIONS.

SOURCE: LA REPUBLIQUE, (THE REPUBLIC), No.2779, February 18, 1933, Istanbul.

Le Problème Chinois et ses répercussions dans le Monde

ANKARA, 15 Février. (De notre rédacteur en Chef). — Le problème mandchourien soulevé par le Japon, et l'effervescence intime et profonde qui secoue la Chine, sous des apparences diverses, ressemblent fortement à des germes d'où sortiront des évènements d'un caractère des plus graves pour l'avenir du monde ; et cela sera dans la mesure où les questions actuellement posées recevront une solution, ou plutôt dans la mesure où elles resteront irrésolues. La Chine a de tout temps constitué un problème pour le monde entier, un problème dont l'importance s'est accrue depuis la révolte des Boxers, il y a une trentaine d'années. A la fin de la guerre russo-japonaise, une série de grands changements eurent lieu dans ce pays, cependant nous voyons celui-ci traverser encore actuellement une grande période d'épreuves, avec ce problème de Mandchourie. Il est donc parfaitement opportun de souligner, avec insistance, à cette occasion, le fait que non seulement la Chine, mais aussi le problème chinois, se trouvent arrivés à un stade de crise aigue, très susceptible d'augmenter les chances de voir la paix internationale en butte à des événements aussi graves qu'importants.

En orientant la solution du problème mandchourien dans le sens de ses intérêts particuliers, le Japon, par le fait même, semble harceler toute la masse de la Chine, et va peut-être réveiller celle-ci de la torpeur où elle est plongée. Or, cette masse chinoise qui doit se réveiller est une force imposante de 400 millions d'hommes et, pour le moment, le Japon ne s'aperçoit sans doute pas qu'en réveillant par force les sentiments de nationalisme chez les Chinois, il travaille peut-être au plus grand bien de ce pays et de cette nation. Mais ce ne serait nullement faire erreur que de considérer d'ores et déjà, cette situation comme un fait accompli. L'action d'une nouvelle masse de 400 millions d'hommes dans le monde, et l'activité déployée par celle-ci, sont des faits dignes d'être pris en sérieuse considération.

Cette éventualité ne pourra peut-être pas se réaliser du jour au lendemain. Mais de quelle importance sont dix ou quinze années dans la vie d'un peuple ? Le Japon a préparé de ses mains, ou tout au moins, il se livre aux préparatifs nécessaires pour l'organisation d'une masse formidable en Extrême-Orient, d'une entité nationale, qui, tôt ou tard, s'immiscera dans les affaires internationales. Tel est le point le plus saillant dans cette question. Nous pouvons dire que le sort en est jeté, et cette éventualité ne manquera pas de se réaliser inexorablement. On peut prévoir dès maintenant que la Chine nationaliste de demain sera grandement redoutable au Japon qui suscite actuellement, tant d'obstacles à son existence.

En raison de la densité de la population qu'elle abrite, la position internationale de la Chine de demain sera assurément très importante, et il est également nécessaire de dire qu'elle constitue, dès maintenant, une structure qui est loin d'être négligeable. Aucun des pays du monde civilisé ne peut se désintéresser de la Chine qui constitue pour eux l'un des meilleurs débouchés. Peut-être peuvent-ils la négliger pour aujourd'hui et pour quelques

temps encore, mais jamais ils ne s'en détourneront pour toujours. C'est là un autre point des plus sérieux. On peut dire qu'un brandon incendiaire a été lancé en Mandchourie contre l'ordre et la sécurité mondiales. Il est vraiment surprenant de constater qu'on voit avec une sorte d'indifférence se préparer en Mandchourie, les facteurs de guerres futures, pendant que d'autre part, à Genève, on s'efforce de faire intervenir une soi-disant limitation dans les armements. Il est non seulement déplacé, mais encore ridicule, de parler de désarmement et de l'établissement d'une paix durable dans un monde où le droit est foulé aux pieds avec le plus grand sang-froid.

Le monde entier sait pertinemment que l'envahissemment de la Mandchourie par le Japon est un geste des plus iniques. Tous les Etats sont sincèrement convaincus que la combinaison japonaise en Mandchourie est une agression et que cette agression porte en elle des germes capables de léser de nombreux intérêts. Il ne s'agit nullement d'être prophète, mais on peut fort bien apercevoir sans cela que malgré l'accueil fait en apparence à ces agissements, un grand nombre d'Etats sont, dans leur for intérieur, animés contre eux d'une sourde rancune. Mais aujourd'hui ces peuples ont tous d'autres préoccupations, et, avant tout, ils doivent dépenser tout leur effort à se dégager de l'emprise de la dépression générale.

Pour aujourd'hui, on ne voit donc qu'un seul moyen de résoudre cette crise : ne point faire la guerre. Mais, il faudrait aussi ne point laisser s'installer cette conviction que, dans l'avenir, ce sera la guerre seule qui pourra dénouer cette situation. Or, il apparait de plus en plus clairement que la guerre est, pour ainsi dire, suggérée pour l'avenir, et de telle façon qu'il n'y aurait même plus aucun moyen de s'en préserver. Dans ces conditions, on ne peut pas prendre au sérieux les pourparlers engagés en vue de la limitation des armements. Et, si l'on ne voit pas pour le moment éclater quelque grande conflagration internationale, ce n'est pas que les raisons pour cela font défaut. On doit donc chercher ailleurs l'explication nécessaire. Serait-ce une erreur, ou un non-sens, de considérer d'ores et déjà comme certain que nous assisterons à l'explosion de guerres futures, devenues inévitables, lorsque les considérations d'ordre secondaire n'existeront plus ? Il nous semble que non... Loin d'être dans l'erreur, c'est être dans le vrai.

Ainsi, aussi sûrement que si nous voyions déjà les faits se dérouler sous nos yeux, nous affirmons que si les Etats-Unis d'Amérique semblent, pour le moment, garder le silence et le sang-froid devant le Japon se préparant à engloutir la Chine, ce silence est en quelque sorte forcé, et sera inévitablement rompu avec éclat, après-demain, si ce n'est demain ! Et la Russie des Soviets considerera-t-elle toujours d'un bon oeil l'expansion japonaise en Asie ? Cela n'est pas possible. Et puis, sans aucun doute, tous les autres Etats sont, à des degrés différents, contre ce mouvement d'envahissement. Il serait absurde de déduire que ces peuples ne se dresseront jamais contre cet état de choses, du fait qu'ils n'élèvent pas la voix aujourd'hui.

Il est encore certain que l'expansion nippone ne sera pas vue d'un bon oeil par les Nations asiatiques. Le Japon se donne le caractère d'une puissance chargée d'appliquer en Extrême-Orient la mentalité colonisatrice de l'Europe. Quant à la S. D. N., son apathie devant cet événement, la place dans une situation qui menace son existence même.

Mais de tous ces mauvais diagnostics, une conséquence apparait ; c'est celle-ci : le geste du Japon n'est, de gré ou de force, qu'une préparation du champ pour l'avènement d'une situation meilleure. L'Humanité entière, ayant à sa tête la Chine, se trouve avoir dès maintenant reçu l'ordre de se jeter dans une lutte qui, d'après nous, garantira, le triomphe du droit et de la vérité ; de telle sorte que des résultats louables découleront demain de cette situation aujourd'hui si condamnable.

Cette nouvelle lutte sera entreprise pour démontrer que notre planète offre assez de place pour tous les hommes, et pour faire comprendre à ces hommes qu'ils doivent vivre sur cette terre en respectant ce droit et cette vérité. Et nos prévisions sont qu'en fin de compte, la démonstration réussira.

YUNUS NADI

Enclosure No. to Despatch No. 369

of February 1933, from the Embassy at Istanbul.

FULL TRANSLATION

THE CHINESE PROBLEM AND ITS WORLD REPERCUSSIONS.

SOURCE: LA REPUBLIQUE (THE REPUBLIC), No.2779, February 18, 1933, Istanbul.

Ankara, February 15th. (From our Editor-in-Chief).- The Manchurian problem created by Japan, and the deep inward disturbance prevailing in China in various forms, look very much like some germ liable to create events which will greatly affect the future of the world. This will depend upon the solution of the questions which present themselves at present or, rather, from the state in which they will be left unsolved. China has always been a problem for the entire world the importance of which increased after the Boxer insurrection, some thirty years ago. At the close of the Russo-Japanese war a great many changes took place in that country, but we are nevertheless witnessing that it is still passing through a period of great hardship in connection with the Manchurian problem. It is therefore most appropriate to point out in this connection the fact that not only China but also the Chinese problem as well have come to a juncture susceptible of increasing the possibility that international peace may have to face grave as well as important events.

In making the solution of the Manchurian problem dependent upon its own particular interests, Japan appears to exercise thereby pressure over the whole mass of China and may wake the latter up from the stupor into which it has fallen. Now this Chinese people which has to wake up is an imposing body of some 400 million persons and it is possible that Japan for the time being does not realize the good it is doing for that country and nation in stirring up the nationalist feeling of the Chinese. It would be a mistake, however, to regard this already as an accomplished fact. The action of a new multitude of some 400 million people for the world and their activity are facts which deserve to be taken seriously into consideration.

Such an eventuality, however, cannot materialize overnight. But what are ten or fifteen years in the life of a nation? Japan has made with its own hands, or is at least engaged in making the necessary preparations

tions with a view to organizing in the Orient a formidable mass, a national unit, which sooner or later will interfere with international affairs. This is the most outstanding point of the question. We may almost say that the die is cast and that this eventuality will not fail to materialize inexorably. One can foresee instantaneously that the nationalist China of tomorrow will be most grateful to Japan which is now the cause of so many handicaps in its existence.

On account of the density of the population inhabiting China, the latter's future international situation will be very important, and it is also equally important to state that its present structure is far from being negligible. No civilized country in the world can remain indifferent as regards China which is one of their best markets. They may neglect China now and for some time to come, but they shall never remain indifferent forever. This is another most important point. One may almost say that a firebrand has been thrown into Manchuria against universal order and security. The indifference manifested in behalf of the preparation in Manchuria of forces for future wars is surprising, while on the other hand endeavors are being made at Geneva toward the bringing about of a so-called limitation of armaments. It is not only out of place but even ridiculous to talk of disarmament and the establishment of lasting peace in a world where right is disregarded with absolute indifference.

The whole world is perfectly aware of the fact that the invasion by Japan of Manchuria is an altogether unjust fact. All Governments are sincerely convinced that Japan's combination in Manchuria is an aggression containing germs liable to injure numerous interests. It is not at all necessary to be a prophet to foretell that despite the attitude which outwardly these actions encounter, the number of Governments which feel a secret rancour in their innermost self in this connection is considerable. However, these peoples have other worries today as they must in the first place use every effort to overcome the general depression.

There is at present only one way to solve this crisis: not to resort to war. But at the same time one should not adopt the conviction that a readjustment of the situation in the future would be possible only through war. It appears more and more, however, that war so to say is being suggested for the future and in such a manner that there seems to be no way of preventing it. It is therefore impossible to take seriously the negotiations which are being carried on with a view to limiting armaments. And if one fails as yet to visualize the breaking out of some great international conflagration this does not mean that the reasons therefore are lacking. It is therefore necessary to search elsewhere for the pertinent explanation. Would it be an error or nonsense to regard for certain already now that we shall witness the breaking out of future wars as inevitable, when considerations

of

of a second order will no longer exist? We do not think so..... Far from wrong, this would be right.

Thus, just as surely as if we were witnessing these facts in person, we contend that if the United States of America keep silent and do not lose their temper for the time being in the presence of a Japan ready to swallow China, this silence is to some extent a forced attitude and will be broken with some violence the day after tomorrow, if not tomorrow. And Soviet Russia, will she continue to view benevolently Japan's expansion in Asia? This would be impossible. And then, for different reasons, all the other States are opposed to such an invasion. It would be absurd to admit that these nations will never object against such a state of things because they do not raise their voice today.

It is also certain that Nippon's invasion will not be viewed favorably by the other Asiatic nations. Japan assumes the attitude of a power entrusted with the application in the Extreme Orient of Europe's colonizing mentality. As regards the League of Nations, its apathy towards this event places this body in a position endangering its very existence.

But all these bad diagnoses make one thing clear: namely Japan's move, by fair means or foul, to prepare a field for future action in the expectation of more favorable conditions. The entire humanity with China at its head seems to have received the order to throw itself into the struggle which, in our opinion, guarantees the triumph of right and truth: in order that praiseworthy results may come forth tomorrow from a situation which appears today condemnable.

This new struggle will be undertaken in order to prove that there is enough room on our planet for all the people, and also to make these people realize that they must live on this earth in respecting this right and this truth. And we believe that in the end this ideal will succeed.

(signed) YUNUS NADI.

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NOTE

767.94/13

SEE 867.44 Sevket Cavit Bey/1 FOR #150

FROM Turkey (Skinner) DATED Feb.22, 1934

TO

NAME

1-1127 OFO

REGARDING: Death in Japan of Sevket Cavit Bey, Turkish naval officer, who, it is rumored, was sent to Japan at the request of Soviet Russia to gather information concerning the Japanese Navy.

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

July 11, 1934.

~~MMH~~
~~SKH~~

Of interest largely as illustrative of propaganda and counter-propaganda- Japanese & Russian.

I have seen nothing else from other missions on the subject of the reported proposals of the Japanese admiral.

EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Tokyo, June 14, 1934.

No. 830.

SUBJECT: Alleged Attempt at Turco-Japanese Rapprochement.

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JUL 23 1934 DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
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COPIES SENT TO O.N.I. AND M.I.D.
JUL 28 1934
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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to quote hereunder the English text of a RENGO news despatch dated June 9, 1934, in regard to rumors of an attempted rapprochement between Japan and Turkey, with the Japanese Foreign Office reaction thereto:

" Malicious Anti-Japanese Propaganda.
Tokyo, June 9. -- (Rengo) --

" In view of malicious anti-Japanese propaganda now circulated in various European and American countries apparently for the purpose of alienating Japan from the Soviet Russia and other countries, keen necessity is being felt by the Foreign Office authorities here to give correct information and to make foreign countries clearly understand the fair attitude of the Japanese Government.

"Consequently, Foreign Minister Koki Hirota today

today instructed the Japanese diplomatic representatives abroad to make correct reports about the facts existed between the Soviet and Japan and to take adequate counter-measures against the malicious propaganda.

" One example of such anti-Japanese propaganda was reported to the Foreign Office by Mr. Nobumi Ito, Japanese Minister to Poland. According to his report, a newspaper in that country has recently carried the contents of the interview which took place at Moscow between the War Commissioner of the Soviet Government, a representative of the air force of Turkey and a military attaché of the Turkish Embassy at Moscow. The paper asserted that in the early part of March this year the Japanese Foreign Office authorities told the Turkish Ambassador in Tokyo the inevitability of a war between Japan and the Soviet and demanded him to abrogate the agreement for the Caucasus safety security when the war break out. The journal also alleged that Admiral Matsushita, Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Training Squadron, taking the advantage of his recent visit to Angora, proposed to support Turkey to take free action in Caucasus and provide the Turkish Navy with various armaments if Turkey takes side with Japan in the Soviet-Japanese war. The same paper went further to say that this proposal of Admiral Matsushita was immediately reported to the Moscow Government. Hence, Mr. Litvinov, Commissioner for Foreign Affairs, was despatched to Geneva to conclude the mutual assistant agreement with France and to realise the Soviet's participation in the League of Nations, the paper alleged."

An official of the Soviet Embassy at Tokyo stated to a member of my staff that the Soviet Embassy had no direct knowledge of the alleged approaches made by the Japanese to the Turkish officials, but stated that similar articles regarding the Japanese overtures to Turkey had appeared in Moscow newspapers, which indicated the Soviet Government's belief in their plausibility, as the newspapers in Russia

are strictly censored. The official referred to further stated that the most remarkable point about the article to which reference is made is that the Japanese are now making an attempt to suppress such rumors, whereas six months ago they would not have bothered to try to suppress them.

Respectfully yours,

Joseph C. Grew.

710.
ERD:g

Copy to Legation, Moscow
" " " Peiping
" " " Berne
" " Embassy Istanbul

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.94/15/5

SEE 767.00/60 FOR #580

FROM Turkey (Skinner) DATED Mar.15, 1935

TO NAME 1—1127 GPO

REGARDING: Conversation with the Turkish Foreign Minister who stated that Turkey does a little trading with Manchukuo but has no intention of recognizing that Government. Soviet Russia has practically recognized it by going on with the sale of the railway.

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DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

767.94/16

SEE 767.94/64 FOR #926

FROM Turkey (Shaw) DATED Mar. 8, 1936

TO NAME 1—1127 ors

16

REGARDING: Japanese influence in Turkey is not very strong. Turkey is anxious to preserve her relations with the U.S.S.R. and Japan is of interest to Turkish foreign affairs only as a possible trouble-maker for the U.S.S.R.

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767.94

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

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AMERICAN EMBASSY

Istanbul, Turkey,

August 24, 1938.

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

Division of FAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
SEP 26 1938
Department of State

No. 798

Subject: Turkish Protest at Meeting of Japanese Diplomats at Istanbul.

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DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

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SEP 7 - 1938
DIVISION OF NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

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The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
OCT 1 1938
ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE

Sir:

I have the honor to report that some resentment has apparently been aroused in Turkish Governmental circles by the holding of a meeting of Japanese diplomats at the Embassy at Istanbul from August 6 until August 10, 1938. According to press reports, a
1/ summary of which is enclosed, Japanese representatives accredited to the Balkan States, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Iran, the Hedjaz and Italy assembled at the Japanese Embassy here for consultation. Mr. Taketomi, the

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Ambassador

Ambassador to Turkey, announced to inquiring journalists that the conference was one of those which his country's diplomats abroad are accustomed to hold from time to time, and that it was similar to those which have been held in Berlin and Paris in previous years.

In the light of the recent Russo-Japanese crisis, however, the gathering of so large a group of Japanese representatives could not but arouse curiosity; and it received in the local press a publicity which may well have been inspired from Government circles. Dr. Aras, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in speaking to one of my colleagues several days before the meeting commenced, referred in an angry tone to"the audacity" of the Japanese in holding a meeting in Istanbul, obviously for conferences prejudicial to the interests of Soviet Russia. On August 10 there appeared in the Ankara daily newspaper, the ULUS, an editorial regarding the
2/ conference, a translation of which is enclosed, containing such statements as the following: "no corner in beautiful Turkey can offer hospitality to the exercise of a foreign policy", and "the Turkish Republic can under no circumstances constitute a shelter for anti-Soviet enterprise". On the same day the official AGENCE ANATOLIE released a statement that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs had addressed a note to the Japanese Embassy at Ankara, in which, after referring to the press notices regarding the meeting of Japanese diplomatic representatives in Istanbul and regarding its anti-Soviet character, the Ministry had stated that it hesitated to believe that the Japanese diplomats had chosen Turkish territory for a political conference of such a nature, as Turkey's

relations

relations with the Soviet Union are particularly friendly and the Turkish Government "could not authorize any action of a similar nature directed against any friendly country whatsoever". A translation of the above press release,
3/ as published in the JOURNAL D'ORIENT on August 11, is enclosed herewith. On August 13 the Turkish press carried another despatch from the AGENCE ANATOLIE, a translation
4/ of which is enclosed, to the effect that the Counselor of the Japanese Embassy had proceeded from Istanbul to Ankara and had explained at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs that the visits of the Japanese diplomats to Istanbul were of a private nature and were devoid of any political or economic character whatsoever. It was added, in this statement from the Government news agency, that as a result of these explanations the matter may be considered as closed. No further comment regarding the incident has appeared in the Turkish press.

If, as would appear to be the case, the assumption that the purpose of the meeting was to further an anti-Soviet policy rested on nothing more substantial than a local newspaper report which had been denied on the following day by the Japanese Ambassador, it would seem somewhat extraordinary that the Turkish Government should make that assumption the basis of a remonstrance against the gathering of Japanese diplomatic representatives for consultation and exchange of views. It is generally supposed that such action was inspired by the Soviet Embassy, with the members of which Dr. Aras has always appeared to be on intimate terms. But in any case, in making such a remonstrance, and communicating to the official press

agency

agency the fact that it had done so, the Turkish Government gives the impression of having gone out of its way to demonstrate that its sympathies lie with Soviet Russia as against Japan.

To the Turks, indeed, Japan seems not only remote but altogether alien in ideas. While the Turkish newspapers have contained few comments upon the Chinese-Japanese war, the tone of the headlines and the manner of presenting the news regarding the war leave no doubt that Turkish popular sentiment is with the Chinese. The Japanese diplomatic representatives in Turkey have, for their part, given every indication, particularly in their conspicuous aloofness, that they feel conscious of a certain hostility against them.

Even apart from this rather remarkable manifestation of sympathy in a concrete international situation, the remonstrance addressed to the Japanese Embassy by the Turkish Foreign Office is noteworthy in that it clearly assumes that the authorization of the Turkish Government should have been obtained as a prerequisite to the gathering, in Turkish territory, of Japanese diplomatic representatives to this and other countries, for conference and exchange of views even on such a subject as economic or, presumably, other non-contentious problems. If seriously intended and insisted on, this seemingly novel extension of the principle of territorial sovereignty might well create embarrassments even in the case of the normal efforts of colleagues in the same service to make personal contacts with each other as opportunities present themselves. It is hard to resist the impression that the Turkish

Foreign

Foreign Office, perhaps irritated by the currency of a report which placed it in an embarrassing position vis-à-vis the Russians, was betrayed into taking a more extreme position than it would be prepared to maintain.

Respectfully yours,

J. V. A. MacMURRAY.

Enclosures:

1/ - Translation of Press News on meeting of Japanese diplomats in Istanbul;

2/ - Translation from ULUS of August 10, 1938;

3/ - Translation from LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT of August 11, 1938;

4/ - Translation from LA RÉPUBLIQUE dated August 13, 1938.

Copy sent to American Embassy, Tokyo;
Copy sent to American Consulate, Geneva.

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Enclosure No. 1 to Despatch No. 798 of August 24, 1938, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

TRANSLATION

PRESS NEWS ON MEETING OF JAPANESE DIPLOMATS IN ISTANBUL.

On July 30, 1938, the TAN carried on its front page the following item, without indication of its source:

"The Japanese Government has decided to carry on political activities on a large scale for the purpose of strengthening anti-Soviet tendencies in the Near East, and of engendering an atmosphere hostile to China and winning over to the Japanese cause the countries of the Near East.

"In compliance with this decision the diplomatic representatives of Japan accredited to Egypt, the Balkan States, Turkey, Syria, the Hedjaz, Irak, Palestine, Iran and Italy will meet privately on August 6th at the Pera Palace Hotel or at the Park Hotel."

Commenting on this news Zekeriya Sertel, in the TAN of the same date, pointed out that the choice of Istanbul for such a reunion was most remarkable, and that Japan was undoubtedly following a wrong course since the political stand of Turkey, as well as that of the Balkan States, was most definite and that all of these countries were only too conscious of their own private interests so that they could hardly constitute a favorable ground for the political propaganda of others.

The information carried by the CUMHURIYET on the same date was less specific and merely stated that the meeting in question would be presided over by the Japanese Ambassador to Turkey and that it aimed at examining certain political and economic questions. The same paper reported that the outcome of these conferences would be communicated to Tokyo in the form of a report.

News items worded in similar language were carried practically by all other Turkish newspapers of the same date. The next day, that is on July 31st, the TAN contained the following statement by the Japanese Ambassador who apparently was interviewed on the subject:

"We shall begin our meetings on August 6th. These meetings which shall last for a few days are devoid of a political nature. Taking advantage of the vacation season the Ministers of adjoining countries meet practically every year. This year we shall meet in Istanbul. We will visit the town and in this connection hold a few conferences. For example, we met last year in Berlin, the year before last in another town, and three years ago

in

in Paris. At these conferences we shall discuss matters which concern us directly. A plan of discussion has as yet not been drawn up."

Asked whether the news encountered in the foreign press to the effect that Japan desired to engender an anti-Komintern tendency in the Balkans and in the Near East, the Japanese Ambassador is reported to have replied as follows:

"I prefer not to make any statement on this subject. There is nothing to be said on this matter by me."

On August 4th the CUMHURIYET (as well as other papers) reported the arrival of certain Japanese diplomats "who are to attend the conference which is to take place in Istanbul and which will be opened on Saturday by the Japanese Ambassador to Ankara," and in this connection also published a picture of the arrival of the "delegates to the conference."

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Enclosure No. 2 to Despatch No. 798 of August 24, 1938, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: ULUS, August 10, 1938.

A MEETING WHICH REMAINS A MYSTERY.

A few days ago newspapers reported and competent persons explained that a meeting of diplomats was taking place at the Japanese Embassy in Istanbul, and that the object of this meeting was to solve certain economic problems. Recourse to competent advice in the settlement of economic questions constitutes a practice which can be readily understood, but one also notices the presence of military attachés among those called upon to settle economic matters. It is this point which puzzles our logic. How can economic questions be reconciled with military competence? Furthermore we wish to point out that this meeting, the nature of which is as yet unknown, has during these last days remained veiled in complete secrecy.

We Turks are a hospitable people and we earnestly wish that not only our friends but everybody should come to our country and get closely acquainted with us and with our new life. The summer days and summer nights under the sky of beautiful Istanbul constitute a real revelation of nature's beauties. But it must be pointed out that no corner in beautiful Turkey can offer hospitality to the exercice of a foreign policy.

The strength and sincerety of Turco-Soviet friendship makes up one of the chapters of history of the Turkish Republic. We are also imbued with favorable sentiments in regard to Japan. In fact, none of our friendships is of an exclusive or privileged nature. Nevertheless we believe that those who, beginning in the Far East, organize plans of campaign on a vast scale will not be able to find any support in the countries of the Balkan Entente and in those of the Saadabad Pact.

It is naturally up to the signatories of the Balkan and Saadabad Pacts to speak for themselves with authority on this subject, but we can maintain with force that the Turkish Republic can under no circumstances constitute a shelter for anti-Soviet enterprise. We ignore how the Government has given expression to this fact. We merely reflect the sentiments of Turkish public opinion.

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Enclosure No. 3 to Despatch No. 798 dated August 22, 1938, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

TRANSLATION.

SOURCE: LE JOURNAL D'ORIENT, August 11, 1938, No. 7002.

CONFERENCE AT ISTANBUL OF JAPANESE DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES.

The Turkish Government cannot -- either tacitly or specifically -- permit the taking in Turkey of any action directed against the U.S.S.R. or any other friendly country.

Ankara 10th (AGENCE ANATOLIE).- It appears from information received by the AGENCE ANATOLIE that the Ministry for Foreign Affairs has, in a note addressed to the Japanese Embassy at Ankara, pointed out that news have been published lately in the press in connection with a proposed meeting at Istanbul of Japanese diplomatic representatives and alleging as the motive of such a meeting the pursuance of political aims of an anti-Soviet character or that of a conference of a purely economic nature. The Ministry for Foreign Affairs is said to have stated that it hesitated to believe in the correctness of this news as the choice of Turkish territory for a political conference of such a nature was hardly conceivable in view of the particularly friendly nature of Turkey's relations with the U.S.S.R. and that, on the other hand, the Turkish Government could not -- either tacitly nor specifically -- authorize any action of a similar nature directed against any friendly country whatsoever. As regards the version attributing to the above meeting an economic nature, such a meeting, if contemplated, should certainly have been preceded by appropriate diplomatic action on the part of the Japanese Government.

These preoccupations have been communicated to the Imperial Japanese Embassy in the absence of any official information or pertinent explanation as regards the true nature of the meeting in question.

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The conference of Japanese diplomatic representatives which took place in the premises of the Japanese Embassy in our city closed yesterday.

Nothing has transpired as yet as regards the work of the said conference or the decisions reached thereby, the various delegates having refused to make any statements whatsoever.

A banquet given last night at the Pera Palace was attended by the Japanese diplomatic representatives, their wives and the senior members of the staff of the Japanese Embassy.

Enclosure No. 4 to Despatch No. 798 dated August 24, 1938, from the American Embassy at Istanbul, Turkey.

TRANSLATION

SOURCE: LA REPUBLIQUE, August 13, 1938, No. 4786.

REGARDING THE MEETING OF JAPANESE DIPLOMATS.

The Meeting is Devoid of any Political or Economic Purpose.

Ankara 13th (AGENCE ANATOLIE).- The AGENCE ANATOLIE has just learned that the Councelor of the Japanese Embassy proceeded to Ankara where he called on Mr. Esad Atuner, who for the time being fills the office of Mr. Numan Menemencioglu now on leave of absence, in order to furnish explanations on the visit to Istanbul of the Japanese diplomats. He stated that these visits were of an entirely private nature, that they had not been prompted by any official mission, and that they were devoid of any political or economic character whatsoever. As a result of these explanations the matter, which was the subject of our bulletin of the 10th instant, has thus been elucidated and may be considered as closed.

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Central File: Decimal File 767.94, Political Relations Of States, Relations; Bi-Lateral Treaties., Turkey And Japan, December 27, 1932 - August 24, 1938. December 27, 1932 - August 24, 1938. MS Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States: Records of the U.S. Department of State, 1930-1944: Records of the Department of State Relating to Political Relations of Turkey, Greece, and the Balkan States, 1930-1939. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com%2Fapps%2Fdoc%2FSC5111389473%2FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 21 June 2025.